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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 31.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1386.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

GOV. WALKER'S PROCLAMATION.

TO THE PEOPLE OF LAWRENCE.

LAWRENCE, July 15, 1857. have learned that a considerable number of the citizens of Lawrence, in this Territory, have adopted, as they claim, a charter, a copy of which has been placed in my hands, and which, upon comparing with that granted by the Territorial Legislature, last winter, I find that they differ materially in many essential particulars. The new charter, then, is not, in fact, a new charter, but a recharter, and, in direct and open defiance of an act of the Territorial Legislature, is a nullity.

You have chosen to disregard the laws of Congress, and the Territorial government created by it, and, while professing to acknowledge the authority of the Territorial government, which can therefore exist only by a successful rebellion, and existing only by the support of the so-called State Constitution; yet you have, in defiance of the so-called State Constitution, refused to grant your charter, and, in defiance of the Territorial government, have proceeded to create a local government, based upon insurrection and revolution.

The very oath which you require from all your officers to support your so-called Topeka State Constitution, is violated in the very act of putting into operation a charter rejected even by them.

A rebellion so impious, and necessarily involving such awful consequences, has never before disgraced any age or country.

I permit me to call your attention, as still claiming to be citizens of the United States, to the results of your revolutionary proceedings. You are inaugurating rebellion and revolution; you are disregarding the laws of Congress and of the Territorial government, and defying its authority. You are endeavoring to overthrow the government of the United States in this Territory.

Your purpose, if carried into effect in the mode suggested by you, by putting your laws forcibly into execution, would involve you in the guilt and ruin of treason. You stand now, fellow-citizens, upon the brink of an awful precipice, and it behooves you to warn you ere you take the fatal leap into the gulph below. If your proceedings are not arrested, you will necessarily destroy the peace of the Territory, and involve it in all the horrors of civil war. I warn you, then, before it is too late, to recede from the perilous position in which you now stand.

I appeal once more to your reason and patriotism. Ask you, in the name of your common country, in the name of the Constitution and of the Union, to desert from this rebellion. I appeal once more to the sense of country, your regard for its peace, property and reputation, to your affection for your wives and children, and to all those patriotic motives which ought to influence American citizens, to shun this contemplated revolution. If you have sense, recede then through the peaceful instrumentality of the ballot-box, in the mode prescribed by the laws of your country.

As all arguments heretofore so often addressed to you, have failed as yet to produce any effect upon you, I have deemed it necessary for your safety, and that of the Territory, and to save you from the perilous consequences of your own acts, as the President has deemed it necessary to send troops of the United States into your immediate vicinity, to perform the painful duty of arresting your revolutionary proceedings. Let me implore you not to compel me to appeal to that military power which is required, in the last resort, to protect the government of your country. You cannot carry your rebellious purposes into effect without using and involving in open conflict with the troops and government of the United States.

Let me adjure you, then, once more, to abandon these proceedings before you involve yourselves in a state of treason, and subject the people of Lawrence to all the horrors and calamities of insurrection and civil war.

If you will now desist from the projected revolution, the past will be forgotten as far as practical, but if you persist in passing those laws, and setting them into execution, thus defying and opposing the government of your country, the terrible consequences must be upon your heads, and those of your associates.

It will be my purpose, if you still persist, to spare no effort as far as practicable, and subject the laws and projects of this revolutionary movement to the punishment prescribed by law. I will accompany the troops of Lawrence, and will endeavor to prevent, if possible, any conflict, and in the same hope that the revolutionary movement contemplated by you, and now so nearly accomplished, will be so late, as to be abandoned by you.

If you can be influenced by no other motive, the slight fact that the power of your government is about to prevent the accomplishment of your purpose, should induce you to desist from those proceedings.

That the same overruling Providence who holds in his hands the destiny of our beloved country, may incline your hearts to peace, and influence you to abandon this fatal enterprise, is the sincere wish of your fellow-citizen.

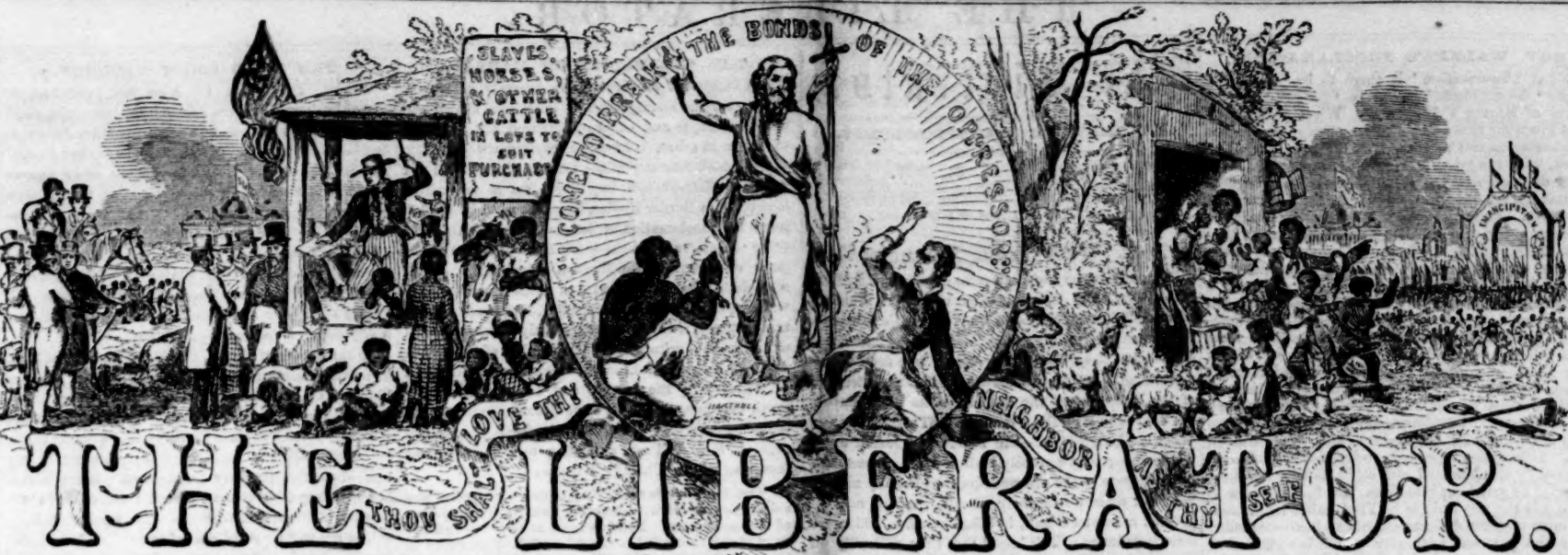
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Governor of Kansas Territory.

From the Washington Union.

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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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loathsome vermin, he politely construed into a want of courage on my part to encounter the calumny of the Tennessee Baptist. I confess to a want of moral courage to meet one who eats carrion like the buzzard, and then vomits the mass of corruption upon decent human beings.

A clerical board, whose grovelling passions assume full sway on all occasions, and whose innumerable moral delinquencies are enveloped in clouds of moral prostration—lost to every truly Christian restraint, degraded in his nature, immoral in some of his practices, villainous in his nature, corrupt in his principles, sold to the enemy of God and man, and displaying, in all his hideous deformity, how pitiful, how sordid, how little and how wretched is this apology for a Christian minister!

Speaking of the Rev. F. A. Ross, now notorious in the Presbyterian Church, he says:

Mr. Ross, of himself, is a low-bred, false-hearted, and utterly unprincipled man, the servility of the notice of a man of the high standing and literary rank of the President of Emory and Henry College.

Methodists of the Old Church, hear Brownlow on the separation of 1844—

Graves ridicules the Methodist Church for the separation which took place in 1844, and attributes the cause to the government of the Church, and the ambition of a corrupt and designing ministry! That was a glorious act on the part of the Methodist Church, and a grand day in her history. It was the abolition of the North who rent in twain the Methodist Church, in 1844. I will let Mr. Calhoun state the case, as he did in his dying speech, in the United States Senate, on the 4th of March, 1850. He was asked on the slavery question, in all its bearings. Speaking of the effect of the Abolition agitation upon the religious cords which assisted in holding the Union together, he said:

The first of these cords which snapped under its explosive force (Abolitionism) was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church. The numerous and strong ties which held it together are all broke, and its unity gone.

Read the following appeal to excite slaveholding prejudice and mobbing against Graves—

And now, people of the South, who is it that Elder Graves publishes a book of 570 pages north of Mason and Dixon's line, WHERE HE WAS BORN, and discuss so many different subjects, some of them growing directly out of the slavery agitation, and some of them indirectly, and if the ties of our sacred Union come out of it unrent, they are made of sterner stuff than the history of the past would seem to warrant! The bonds of the Union have resisted political agitation, but can they withstand religious fury? Abolitionism has travelled from political dominion to religious conviction, and has infected the whole mind and heart of the North. Under its pulsating touch, some of the strongest cords that held the Union together have snapped, others are strained to the breaking point. Graves has travelled from political dominion to religious conviction, and has infected the whole mind and heart of the North. Under its pulsating touch, some of the strongest cords that held the Union together have snapped, others are strained to the breaking point.

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But if the seceding Southern ministers desire to establish the principle for which they are contending, they can do no better than to elect Tom, Joe and Jerry, and other plantation brethren, to attend the Washington meeting, and bear testimony to the practical workings of the blessed and beneficent Christian institution of American slavery. By all means, they should be present, to protest against the heresy that Southern slavery is a sin. Will the Presbyteries yet to elect delegates see to it that the plantation branch of the church is well represented?

A YANKEE IN MISSOURI.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FREE AND SLAVE LABOR.

Less than half a hundred miles from St. Louis, as I traveled through Missouri, I could not but remark the luscious and quiet aspect of the country, exhibiting a sad want of enterprise among the people in that particular neighborhood; fences almost concealed in the thick brush, grown up inside as well as outside the fields, houses of most somber appearance, wanting even in the cleanest show of a peck of lime and an hour's work would improve the landscape. The rich soil and pondering the unthrifty appearance of the country, I rode along in the stillness of the morning, no sound disturbing the quiet, save the occasional report of the gun of some hunter of petty game far up or down the valley; in the sound themselves I thought I found to some extent a solution of the question of why it was that the soil was so badly tilled; farmers were out squirrel hunting while the spring-time was upon them, and the fences not yet repaired. While I was meditating on the change a few years will produce in that region of country, a sudden turn on the road brought me to one of those beautiful streams of water found carved among the hills every few miles along our route, and the scene was a water-fall, mingling with the rattle, clatter, and buzzing sounds of a mill, saluted my ears, while a scene presented itself so highly contrasting with everything in the surrounding country, that the very contrast seemed to invest it with new beauties. There stood a fine flouring and sawmill, with steam rising from its chimney, and unloading, horses receiving and being relieved of their burden, numerous small boys perched on the top of bags of meal or flour, turning their heads homeward, bringing to my mind the wood-cut at the head of a campaign paper in 1844; dozens of men were piling and handling sacks of flour, and down the stream large fields of wheat and green meadows were spread out so picturesquely that with my admiration there arose a desire to know the possessor of such fine property. He was pointed out to me by one of the laborers; on approaching him, I was received with an affable and courteous manner, and was soon in possession of the information I desired. He was a native of Massachusetts, had not yet reached middle age, came to Missouri six years ago, went to work to start a manufacturing establishment in the neighborhood where he now lives, found no encouragement but met with every opposition, was denounced as a Yankee and an Abolitionist, threats were made to drive him from the country, influential men deliberately went to work to organize a system to foment opposition to him; he soon found himself without a dollar, but within him there was that which is worth more than money—there was a will, a determined energy which laughs at poverty. He sends, for his land and friends even there, came to his assistance with a few hundred dollars, and on three acres of land, there in the undisturbed forest, he began the erection of his mill, soon had it up and going, paid off all his liabilities, now owns eight hundred acres of the fine land around him, he has been offered \$20,000 for his property, thought it not half its worth, was improving it all the time, hired all his labor.

In answer to the question as to his political opinions, he answered freely, 'I am a Free Soiler, sir,' and pointing around him over his fields he added, 'Here are eight hundred acres of free soil in Missouri, and it shall grow to be eight thousand acres.'—*Correspondent of the Missouri Democrat.*

From the Boston Journal.

POLITICAL VITUPERATION.

We take the following editorial entire from yesterday's *Courier*:

'The telegraphic dispatches show some unexpected complication in the affairs of Kansas. Who can calculate on the remarkable turns which things take in the councils of inveterate political Free Soilers? The knot of political donkeys at Topeka—donkeys in sense and disposition—seems determined to have a difficult time with the United States, in which we could almost wish they might succeed. Nothing but a sound drubbing avails to bring a certain set of people to reason, and reason has been wasted upon the Topeka rebels almost long enough. One would have thought that the folly of their course before it is too late. Undoubtedly, if the Topeka resist, they will come by the worst; and for our own part, we prefer the broil should be settled now, as we doubt not it will be effectively, rather than kept open for some future time.'

This is a singular paragraph. Unless we entirely misconstrue the sentiments of the people of New England, it will be read with astonishment and regret by the judicious men of all parties. Even those who take the side of the Administration, so far as it has yet developed its course in Kansas, will see neither the necessity nor the wisdom of flinging scurrility in the faces of those who support the Topeka Constitution. It looks to all fair men like the unbecoming effusion of a spirit inherently mean—of which, it is needless to say, we acquit the fastidious *Courier*—or the angry expressions of a man who has got himself into a wrong position. We shall not try to make an application of the latter hypothesis, as it would involve the renewed discussion of the vexatious question, and presently leave the *Courier* and ourselves respectively just as we are now.

But we may say a word or two—remembering our contemporary's 'strong point'—upon the taste, such as it is, of the above article. Those men in Kansas, a large proportion of whom were but recently the honored members of our community, who desire the Territory to be admitted as a State under the Topeka Constitution, have taken no new position. They stand where they have always stood, denying the authority of a Legislature which all the world knows was elected upon them by the people of Missouri, and in consequence of popular enmity. They prefer to have the chance of settling their own institutions, in the way guaranteed by their organic act. And for this they are called 'donkeys in sense.' But, while they have suffered persecutions beyond what Americans ever knew before, have had their property destroyed without the least prospect of indemnity, and have seen their brethren murdered and the murderers go free, yet they have loyally kept the peace, and are now calmly waiting to decide all questions at the polls. And for this, a Boston man, whose elegant eye-glass can command Bunker Hill Monument at every hour of the day, calls them 'bad taste.' This is the taste and the decorum of the *Courier*—and the exhibition speaks for itself.

But 'reason' has been wasted upon the Topeka rebels almost long enough, is the clamorous cry of our neighbor. Whose reason? The reason of David Atchison and his Missouri hirelings, denuded at the rifle's mouth, written on illegal ballots? The reason which demolished a part of Lawrence, and threw printing presses into the river? The reason which successfully removed Reader, Shannon and Geary? The reason which Pierce expressed in favor of popular sovereignty, and never carried out? The reason which Buchanan has manifested in regard to fair voting, but which yet remains a problem in practice? There is no ground for supposing that the latter will be rejected—but as for all the other reason that has been wasted upon the Free State men of Kansas, the world will never miss it. Force is a sound drubbing, in the nice phrase of our neighbor—is the fit conclusion of such reason. 'It may be readily employed at this moment'—who came worthily from the old Mass.

The men may be injudicious, but they may be wrong, even—but having their hands, and perilled their life like that of their and were jeered with low and coarse and good feel.

it. They know reasons of orus defacement d the means to not an inmate

GOV. WALKER'S PROCLAMATION.

What 'insurrection' is there to be 'quelled'? What 'disorganizers' are to be 'quieted'? By the sabres of Harney's dragoons? What pretext has been given for this? There surely can be few so ignorant as to know that the people of Lawrence, with the great body of the people of Kansas, never did recognize the so-called Territorial Legislature as a body having any legal or rightful authority whatever. Knowing that it originated in wholesale conspiracy and fraud, and was first elected by Missouri ballots and bow-knives, the great body of the Legislature of Kansas have uniformly regarded and treated it just as Vermont would regard and treat a Legislature chosen for her by an armed invasion from Canada, which Legislature should, on organizing, proceed to remove the State capital from Montpelier to North Hero, in order to be within easy reach of support from their confederates at home, and out of the way of any demonstrations of hostility from the outraged people on whom they were imposed. Lawrence never asked a charter from the territorial Legislature, and never desired any. It has been repeatedly belonged and once ravaged by the Missouri and other Border Ruffians collected at great expense from the State of Missouri. The Legislature of Kansas are about to be effected in our own land, in behalf of a five-fold larger slave population. It is hoped that they will rally on the occasion like a gathering host.

A SPECIAL TRAIN of cars will leave the Old Colony R. R. Depot in Boston at 9.30 A. M., for the Abington Grove, and return at 6 o'clock, P. M. FARE, to go and return—Fifty cents for adults; Twenty-five cents for children.

From PLYMOUTH to the Grove—Leave Plymouth at 9.20, A. M., and return at 6.10. FARE—Fifty cents for adults, Twenty-five cents for children.

In case of unpleasant weather, the Town Hall (near to the Grove) will afford accommodation to the meeting.

The picnic plan will be followed as heretofore, persons taking their own provisions with them; but refreshments will be for sale at the Grove, as usual.

Among the speakers on the occasion may be expected WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, ANDREW T. FOSS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec. Sec.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JULY 31, 1857.

CELEBRATION

British West India Emancipation.

The Anniversary of that most glorious act in British history, the Emancipation of Eight Hundred Thousand Chattel Slaves in the West India Islands—consummated by the potency of moral agitation, and achieved without the spilling of a single drop of human blood—will be celebrated (under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society) on SATURDAY, AUGUST 1st, at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON,—the friends of freedom every where being most cordially invited to be present, and to participate in the proceedings, the day may be hastened when a still more glorious jubilee may be effected in our own land, in behalf of a five-fold larger slave population. It is hoped that they will rally on the occasion like a gathering host.

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In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec. Sec.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

FIRST OF AUGUST AT HOPEDALE.

The approaching Anniversary of West India Emancipation—an event whereby 800,000 chattels were elevated to the position, dignity and rights of FREE MEN—will be appropriately commemorated, under the auspices of

THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY,

in the pleasant Grove, a short distance south of the Hopedale Village; and the friends of liberty of all classes are earnestly invited to be present, and participate in the exercises of the occasion. Let there be a grand rally of all those who have the hearts to rejoice in one of the noblest events that brighten the page of History, and who are desirous of being found on the side of God and the Right, in the mighty contest, now nearing its crisis, going on for the redemption of three and a half millions of slaves in our own guilty land. Let all who will, friend or foe to the Anti-Slavery cause, come, and we will ensure them a free platform and a stirring time. We shall hope for a large delegation from each and all the neighboring towns, and from a distance.

Refreshments will not be provided, as heretofore. The picnic method will be adopted, instead, each family taking with them what food may be deemed necessary.

Should the weather be stormy, a suitable hall will be provided for the occasion.

WM. LYDIA GARRISON and THOMAS W. HIGGINS will be present, and with the Hopedale speakers and others, will address the meeting.

COME ONE, COME ALL, and join the swelling cry that shall break the chains of the millions of victims of American despotism—NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

WM. S. HAYWOOD, Chairman.

Hopevale, Milford, July 15, 1857.

FIRST OF AUGUST—THE JUBILEE.

To-morrow will be the anniversary of the most glorious event in British history—namely, WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION—an event in which this slaveholding republic can take no pleasure, because it has demonstrated the ability of the emancipated to take care of themselves—to pass at once from the condition of slaves cowering under the lash to the position of freemen standing erect under British law, without the shedding of a single drop of human blood—to acquire property, and advance in intellectual and moral culture—and to meet creditably all the responsibilities which belong to a state of liberty. It is a matter of surprise to us that this anniversary is not more generally celebrated in England by our anti-slavery friends in that country, not only because it is deserving of everlasting remembrance, but because the testimonies borne on such an occasion would be of great service to us on this side of the Atlantic, who are struggling to achieve a similar deliverance for a still larger number of victims.

It will be seen that the great event is to be appropriately commemorated in this State by two grand mass meetings of the friends of freedom—one at Abington, the other at Hopevale. Let all be present who can, and help to make it a memorable occasion.

Turning over our files a few days since, we discovered the following letter written with reference to a celebration of this kind, by the noble man whose sudden death has recently filled so many hearts with sadness. We republish it with a melancholy pleasure.

Salem, July 30, 1855.

Sir,—I shall not be able to attend the celebration of the anniversary of West India Emancipation, to which you have done me the honor to invite me. I regard with deep interest the direct and indirect objects of the celebration; and I desire you and your friends, who may be present, and who may regret my absence, to assure I am not and cannot be indifferent to the purpose which you and they have at heart. I cannot wait long for another occasion to perform my humble share of duty to the great cause, whose claims I shall henceforth consider paramount to all others of a political nature which can address themselves to the judgment and consideration of an American citizen.

Yours, respectfully,

S. C. PHILLIPS.

Mr. C. K. WHIFFLE.

CALL FOR A NORTHERN CONVENTION.

Whereas, it must be obvious to all, that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided, by Slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations, between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous;

And whereas, Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary, and Legislative; has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the territories, and by the same process has removed all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the Free States, and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel;

And, whereas, there seems no probability that the future will, in these respects, be different from the past, under existing State relations;

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at _____, in October, 1857, to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation of the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.

LIBERAL VOTERS.

OTHER PERSONS.

THE 'REBELLION IN KANSAS.'

The citizens of Lawrence have recently adopted a charter for the management of their local affairs, and chosen a mayor and other officers under it, by a vote of 128 to 28; but, before the government goes into operation—before any of the persons elected take the oath of office—before any overt act is committed against even Border Ruffian legislation—Gov. Walker issues his proclamation in hot haste against the Free State 'rebels,' and, in the spirit and style of the Emperor of Austria or the Russian Autocrat, when admonishing the subjugated but restless masses over whom they exercise despotic sway, threatens to exterminate them, if they do not instantly succumb to his dictation, and acknowledge the validity of that spurious and bloody government which has been imposed upon Kansas by the bandits and cut-throats of Missouri, Carolina, and other slave States. In substance, as our readers will perceive on turning to our first page, it is as follows, according to the sententious rendering of the *Chicago Tribune*—

'The Government at Washington recognizes the validity of the felon Legislature, and the binding force of its enactments. I am directed to use the military force at my command to secure a rigid observance of those enactments, and I will carry out my instructions at all hazards. You men of Lawrence are dissatisfied with the charter under which that felon Legislature authorized you to organize your city government, and have proceeded to frame another. Though you have not put it in operation, though I can charge upon you no act of resistance to my authority, though I do not allege that there has been a conflict between your officers and mine, I declare that your operations are treasonable, and I will put you down. You are rebels, and I am ROBERT J. WALKER.'

This proclamation would be a proper subject for ridicule, on the score of its egotism, bombast, towering indignation, and terrible threatening, were it not that the struggle in Kansas is no child's play; that the people of that territory are as completely subjugated as the populace of France or Italy, in spite of all their efforts to assume the attitude of freemen; that the invasion and conquest of Kansas, and all the territorial laws enacted by the invaders, are recognized as valid by the national government; that all that he menaces, Gov. Walker would unquestionably do, with a blood-thirsty relish, if the Free State settlers should proceed with their independent organization; that, in case the war should commence, the entire Democratic party of the North, with whatever is left of Hunker Whigism and pro-slavery Americanism, would eagerly take sides with the government, and exult in the utter extermination of every free State man in the territory; that the slaveholding spirit is as barbarous as it is lawless and desperate; and that, to the complete supremacy of the Slave Power, no obstacle is to be tolerated in any part of the country. These facts make what would otherwise be mere empty gasconade, a matter of the gravest importance and deepest concern. Let the men of Lawrence attempt to assert their constitutional as well as natural rights, and we shall see what will come of it.

When the South has every thing in her own hands, what has she to fear? or what is the probability of her relinquishing advantages which are indispensable to the safety of her 'peculiar institution'? To the full extent of all her devilish purposes, she has with her the President and his Cabinet—the Judiciary—both houses of Congress—the Army and Navy—the Treasury—and a majority of the people of the North, corrupted, deceived and misled by a mercenary press, by the vilest demagogues, and the most venal and obsequious of office-holders. What hope is there for Kansas? None. What can her Free State settlers do? Nothing, except to die as 'rebels,' or submit as vassals. Rebels they dare not be, for they know how hopeless would be such a struggle; vassals they must be, if they consent to remain in the territory, under such circumstances. We have had no doubt as to what their fate would be, from the beginning. To whom, or to what, can they appeal for justice?

And who are they, thus left to the tender mercies of unofficial assassins and official butchers? Industrious, thrifty, enterprising, intelligent and educated emigrants from the free States—the most orderly and virtuous citizens—the most desirable neighbors—the truest patriots, even in the American sense of loyalty. But they are opposed to the further extension of slavery; they will not sanction as binding, laws forced upon them by a swarm of invading bandits; they insist on their right to frame their own constitution, and to make their own laws, without invasion from abroad, or dictation from the government; and for this, their dwellings have been fired, their towns sacked, their lives in many cases barbarously taken, and their rights as freemen, as Americans, utterly cloven down.

In vain do they make their appeal to the Executive and to Congress; in vain do they point to their desolate firesides, their bleeding wounds, their murdered brethren; in vain do they demonstrate, again and again, beyond all doubt or denial even on the part of their enemies, that they constitute an overwhelming majority of the bona fide settlers in the territory; in vain do they declare their readiness to abide by the decision of a majority of the people, fairly and properly expressed; still they are insulted, caricatured, anathematized, and fiercely proscribed, in all parts of the country, by the contemners of constitutional liberty, as though they were the dogs of society, on a level with plantation slaves, and deserving only of the treatment of dogs. The soil of Kansas has been saturated with their blood; the smoke of their burning habitations has obscured the light of the sun; their cries and groans have been borne on the breeze around the civilized world; their sufferings and perils have been beyond the power of the pencil to portray, or the pen to record. And now that, driven by the necessities of their condition, they have ventured to organize a municipal form of government for the city of Lawrence, though without actually putting it in operation, they are menaced with the most terrible vengeance by Gov. Walker, as the representative and agent of the Federal Government!

We beseech every man at the North, in whose breast a single spark of the fire of freedom yet burns, to read Gov. Walker's proclamation, and mark the language addressed to the long-suffering, high-minded and patriotic men by that inflated and sanguinary official. He speaks of their 'rebellious purposes'—their 'revolutionary proceedings'—their 'conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States'—and he warns them that they 'stand upon the brink of an awful precipice, and entreats them not to take the fatal leap into the gulf below.' He graciously promises them that if they will now 'desist from the projected rebellion, the past will be forgotten as far as practicable (!!!)—but if they persist,' the deplorable consequences 'must be upon their own heads.' If you can be influenced by no other motive, he says, 'the evident fact (alas! too evident) that THE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT is adequate to prevent the accomplishment of your purpose, should induce you to desist from those proceedings.' That was precisely the talk of George the Third to our revolutionary fathers.

Finally, this blustering miscreant, adding to his haughty language the most loathsome cant, says—'That the same overruling Providence, who holds in his hands the destiny of our beloved country, may now incline your hearts to peace, (!) and influence you to abandon this fatal enterprise, is my sincere wish.' Upon this base disclaimer! Let him not think to impose even upon the simple and credulous by such language! 'The same overruling Providence,' let him know, that 'overthrew Pharaoh and his hosts in the Red Sea,'—that brought down to the dust, and swept away Tyre, and destroyed Babylon, and desolated Palestine, and overthrew Greece and Rome, for their oppression and cruelty, 'holds in his hands the destiny' of our still more guilty country, and nothing but repentance and the most thorough reformation can save it from similar retribution.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

Crobery, Nichols & Co. have just published, in pamphlet form, from the *Law Reporter* for June, 1857, 'A LEGAL REVIEW OF THE CASE OF DRED SCOTT,' as decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.' The authors of this Review have made some corrections and alterations in this edition; so that it now appears in a complete shape. Of the many able reviews which have been made of Judge Taney's infamous decision against Justice, Humanity, and the Constitution of the United States, we believe it is conceded that this is the ablest and most conclusive. If its sale shall be at all proportionate to its legal merits, it will obtain a very wide circulation.

In the nature of things, the U. S. Supreme Court, as it is organized, cannot be friendly to the cause of liberty. Of its nine Judges, five of them are slaveholders, who have a direct and perpetual interest in whatever relates to slave property, and who are therefore incompetent to render a true judgment in any case where that property is involved. Being slaveholders, they have thereby placed themselves in the position of interested witnesses and partisan judges, and so are to be 'ruled out of court,' and excluded from the bench. Being slaveholders, they have lost all power of moral discrimination, and cannot discern men (if they are 'negroes') even as trees, walking. Being slaveholders, they are themselves criminals of the deepest dye, and 'sinners of the first rank,' whose damnation is sure, and whose judicial position is a burlesque upon the very idea of justice and equity.

Moreover, their decision was undeniably a party one, directly in accordance with the spirit and proclivity of 'border ruffian democracy,' and as directly hostile to the views and feelings of the powerful party which supported Mr. Fremont—more than twelve hundred thousand strong in the free States. Never before was a decision made by the Supreme Court so shamefully unjust, so entirely one-sided, so purely partisan. It has utterly failed to carry with it any evidence of an enlightened judgment or a conscientious opinion on the part of a majority of the Court, and therefore it makes no impression of its constitutionality upon the public mind.

Of the four other Judges—though two of them (Judges McLean and Curtis) dissented from the ruling of Judge Taney,—not one of them has any sympathy whatever with the Anti-Slavery movement,—and from a Court thus constituted, what have the friends of freedom to hope in any issue with the Slave Power? While such a Court remains as it is, the whole weight of its influence will be thrown into the scale of Slavery as surely as the law of gravitation will continue to operate.

By her Constitution and laws, Massachusetts knows nothing of complexional distinctions on her soil. All her people are alike dear to her; and as she requires allegiance of them all, she is bound to protect them all. The decision of the Supreme Court, whereby ten thousand of her citizens are denied the right to sue for justice in that Court, is an outrage done to the whole Commonwealth, which should be indignantly resented by all; and they are convicted of the foulest treachery, who declare it to be just and obligatory. 'The citizens of each State,' says the U. S. Constitution, 'shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' The citizenship of the colored inhabitants of Massachusetts is recognized in every particular under her jurisdiction; it is, therefore, as broad as all the States collectively. What can be more absurd or contradictory than to affirm that men may vote on every question at the polls, whether relating to the State or the nation—may be voted for to fill an office in the gift of the people—may vote to amend the Constitution of the United States, for members of Congress, for electors of President and Vice President, for sustaining the government in all its operations—and yet not be citizens of the United States!!! If this be so, then there has never taken place a constitutional election since the organization of the government; for colored men have voted for every President, from Washington to Buchanan, and never before has the legality of their voting been questioned. If they are not citizens of the United States, then they have no right to vote for officers of the United States; and by that rule, James Buchanan has no right to his seat as Chief Magistrate of the republic.

The Review pertinently says—

'The position, that free negroes may sue in the courts of the United States, would seem to be sufficiently established by showing that they are now citizens of some of the States; and that they are so admitted by the Chief Justice himself. But, for the purposes of this discussion, we are willing to risk their rights, in that respect, upon the proposition that they were a part of the people of the United States when the Constitution was adopted; and that they were so admitted by the Chief Justice himself. But, for the purposes of this discussion, we are willing to risk their rights, in that respect, upon the proposition that they were a part of the people of the United States when the Constitution was adopted; and that they were so admitted by the Chief Justice himself. But, for the purposes of this discussion, we are willing to risk their rights, in that respect, upon the proposition that they were a part of the people of the United States when the Constitution was adopted; and that they were so admitted by the Chief Justice himself.'

In the Appendix to this masterly Review is the following historical evidence of the recognized citizenship of colored men by the government of the United States—

'Since that part of the foregoing review which relates to the citizenship of free negroes was printed, our attention has been directed to the case of the seamen taken out of the American frigate *Chesapeake*, by the British ship *Trent*, in November, 1845, which was the beginning of the difficulty between the United States and Great Britain, that ultimately led to the war of 1846. The Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom the subject was referred, reported to the house, that it has been ascertained, proven, as the accompanying printed document No. 8 will show, that 'three of the men taken (naming them) are citizens of the United States.' By the document referred to, it appears that two of these three men were colored, one of them the child of a female slave. See Report of the Committee, pp. 21, 36, 43, 44. President Jefferson, in his proclamation interdicting our harbors and waters to British armed vessels, issued immediately after the outrage, said—'That no citizen of the United States might be wanting to mark his character, it had been previously ascertained that the seamen demanded were native citizens of the United States.' p. 6. This proclamation was countermanded by Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State. Mr. Madison, in his letter to Mr. Monroe, the Minister of the United States at London, instructing him to demand reparation of the British government, dwells upon the fact that the men were citizens of the United States; and Mr. Monroe, in his formal demand upon the British government, said—'I have the honor to transmit you documents which will, I presume, satisfy you that they were American citizens.' Correspondence between Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, and Mr. Canning, on the subject of the attack on the *Chesapeake*, pp. 6, 10, 27. All the above references are to the public documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, at the first session of the tenth Congress. It thus appears, not only that three of the first five presidents of the United States, two of them men who had taken as great part as any in framing our national policy and system of government, spoke of colored men as citizens of the United States; but that the government made the defence of their rights a cause, a cause for putting the nation in a hostile attitude towards a foreign power.

We may also allude in this connection to the proclamation issued by General Jackson, dated Mobile, September 21, 1814, addressed 'to the free colored inhabitants of Louisiana,'—in which he says—'Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist. As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inalienable blessing. At arms, ye colored men, look with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. On enrolling yourselves in companies, the major-general commanding will select officers for your government, from your white fellow citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.'

This was the old state of things, but we are living under another government and another Constitution. The time has come for revolution and secession; and any thing short of that is treason to the cause of freedom. Let the cry of 'No Union with Slaveholders!' ring in thunder-tones throughout the North!

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LETTER FROM MISS HOLLEY.

Extract of a letter from SALLIE HOLLEY to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., dated

FARMERVILLE, N. Y., July 1st.

Your inquiry in a late Liberator, about Dr. Ross and the Cleveland choir, suggests that you may regard as interesting the following extract of a letter I lady friend of mine) in Cleveland, who has been a reader, for four years, of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*:

'I attended, as I anticipated, the meetings of the New School General Assembly, and every day wished you could have been with me. You have seen in the Standard the resolutions that were passed, the Southern protest, reply, &c., and the call for a Convention at Washington, D. C., in August. So you have the result of the slavery discussion. Dr. Ross led off at the beginning, and every body was, if possible, more profoundly impressed with the *unbounded concert* of the discussion, speeches, characteristic of minds that through conversation to anti-slavery, and back through conversation to pro-slavery. I never so fully realized the meaning of "outside pressure," as when I saw, day after day, that body surrounded, in church and gallery, by eager listeners, intent to hear their discussion and decision. When I saw the great solicitude of conservation for "peace," not purity, and the fog and mists that clouded the minds of professedly liberty-loving, humane men, I turned with renewed interest and increased reverence to that single-eyed zeal slave and his interests. I admire more than I can express, more than I have ever hitherto, such men as Mr. Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and such women as Mrs. Foster.'

I am sure you, Mr. May, will be glad with me over this hearty testimony and first fruits of reading the Standard.

To show how anxious somebody was to furnish public opinion on this slavery discussion, there was scattered through the pews of Dr. Ellis' church in Cleveland, (the same in which the Assembly met) the Sunday previous to its gathering, the letter of that eminent Southern saint, Ross, to Albert Barnes. There was no equal call from any anti-slavery quarter, nor is it likely it would have had toleration in that N. Y. Observer reading and influenced church.

As you have often assured me you wish to know, I will here mention, that I am just come and am to stay in this region for the summer months, as last year, lecturing when and where I can. My post-office address will be 'Farmerville, Cattaraugus Co., N. Y.' until the 1st of October.

Very sincerely,

SALLIE HOLLEY.

ANOTHER VETERAN GONE.

Died, in South Woodstock, Vt., July 15, JAMES SLAYTON, Esq., aged 86 years.

Mr. Slayton was an ardent friend of the Anti-Slavery and Peace enterprises, was a Non-Resistant in theory and practice, a philanthropist, a friend of humanity, 'an honest man, the noblest work of God.' He was sincere in his convictions, and bold in avowing them, whether popular or not. He was a great reader, was a subscriber to THE LIBERATOR from its commencement, and took various other periodicals listed in the benevolent and philanthropic causes of the day, and read them with the greatest avidity and relish. He was one of the originators of the Social Library in his town, over half a century ago, when the country was thinly populated, and he furnished it with numbers of anti-slavery and other books. The following tribute to his memory was read at the funeral. It was furnished by an old friend of Mr. Slayton, himself an ardent and constant friend of the Library, and associate of Mr. S. in his plans for promoting the welfare of his fellow-men—

'Circumstances have placed me in such a situation, that it becomes my duty to say a few words. In the great change that has taken place in our friend Slayton, we have lost the last link in the original chain that bound society together to establish a public Library in South Woodstock, more than sixty years ago. He was a friend and benefactor to the Library from the beginning to the time of his death. The South Woodstock Social Library was established January 26, 1797. It has been steadily improving up to the present time. It has been our main pillar in society, and an honor to the town. Our friend who has left us contributed more in money and books than any other proprietor. He was a father, as a best factor in society, and a friend to humanity. We owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. His theory and practice in life appeared to be 'peace on earth and good-will' to the whole human family.'

Mr. Slayton was a man very much respected in the community, and he was regarded as a useful citizen and a public benefactor.

He passed away in a ripe old age, peacefully and without a struggle. Since his death, an invitation came for him to attend the Northern Convention, to be held this fall. He was a veteran in the cause.

J. S. L.

ANOTHER LIBERAL MEDICAL COLLEGE.

WM. LYDIA GARRISON:

FLUNKYISM.

Mr. Editor:—A few words under the above head may not be inappropriate at the present time. Somebody has said that "consistency is a jewel," and had he lived in this degenerate age, he might have added, "rarely to be found in newspapermen." Boston, however, seems to be especially favored with a time-serving, scurrilous and cowardly press:—a press which is governed by men who never relent at any meanness, however degrading it may be, when a selfish object is to be obtained, or a contemptible prejudice pandered to;—a press which, like the theology it supports, can pray by the quantity, "bartering its soul for sums of gold," and holding itself in readiness at all times to belie the truth, even to murder the reputation of the widowed and the fatherless, for a consideration. I doubt very much whether lying is not so congenial to some of their natures that they could not be *aired* to speak the truth. These are productive of but little injury to the right, when compared with those who "steal the liver of heaven to serve the devil in." When a notorious liar tells an improbable story, we are not so easily deceived. We have formed an estimate of his reliability, and know precisely what his assertions are worth. But when a person comes to us in the garb of friendship, and lies lies in the language of truth, the evil is immeasurable: we are liable to be misled, in spite of ourselves. So it is with the press.

It is well known that certain of the daily papers of this city have been somewhat loud-mouthed of late in support of freedom of speech. The *Bea*, for instance, went into raptures over Mr. Alger's Fourth of July Oration, lauding him to the skies for his patriotism and his Christianity, in daring to take such an opportunity to speak of the numberless evils which result from the traffic in human beings. No praise was too much for this. Then how it poured out its tale of woe on those poor miserable Aldermen, for not thinking the God which administered such a righteous dose of God's truth! Some thought that this was a great step for the *Bea*, and honored it for its courage. It certainly would have been, had it been a step on the ground of principle. But no; the wiles of iniquity in which the *Bea* had wallowed for so many years, had not been so soon outgrown so soon. They took Hamlet's advice, for a season, and assumed a virtue, though they had it not. The *Bea* became suddenly popular. Every day, as the interest and excitement increased, it became more and more in favor of the free expression of thought; more and more anti-slavery—in words. All the abuse of anti-slavery men, in years gone by, was laid aside, and it was half-forgotten that it had abused. The pigmy had become a giant. You remember the fable of the frog—the melancholy tale of ambition.

Well, the *Bea* was soon to be tried according to its own standard. The same Board of Aldermen that praised to thank Mr. Alger, saw fit to persecute a poor but manly man. John C. Cluer had mortally offended them. He had spoken of their iniquities. Heaven knows there was need enough of some one to speak of them. Of course, the truth was not palatable. They did not dare to prosecute for libel; it might have developed something unpleasant; official nerves are apt to be sensitive. One other way suggested itself to them—the gag law. They could not contradict the statements he had made, and so they passed an order prohibiting preaching on the Common, and instructed the Chief of Police to arrest all persons defying against it. Now, the *Bea*, totally ignoring the boasted right of speech, rejoiced in the action of the Board. The Board, however, found itself again in difficulty. The Young Men's Christian Association asked leave to preach on the Common, and it was granted them, in defiance of the Order passed the week before. But on its becoming known that Mr. Cluer intended to speak if he did, the Order was immediately patched up to suit the case. Mr. Eddy preached; Mr. Cluer attempted to preach, and was arrested for a breach of the peace. The *Bea* was again in ecstasies, revelling once more in the filth from which it had tried to emerge. The *Traveller* was on the same side of the fence, with its inimitable meanness. Mr. Cluer, however, was promptly discharged by Mr. Justice Rogers. The Supreme Court had decided that there was no breach of the peace. The inimitable, slave-catching Deputy, the City Solicitor, the Aldermen, and all the rest of hunkered men, were at fault.

Last Sunday, Mr. Cluer attempted to speak again, and was again arrested. The champion of free speech and the hunter of foreigners again shows its dirty face in the following language:—

CLUER ON THE COMMON AGAIN. The notorious John C. Cluer attempted to speak again on the Common last evening. A rabble of loafers and dirty boys surrounded him to hear his wise sayings, but Deputy Chief Ham thought it expedient to pass him off the Common, as a party of North End boys had come up with the intention of mobbing him. Mr. Ham induced him to leave the Common, but he soon returned, manifesting a commendable spirit of perseverance, if not of courage. The police then arrested him, and took him to the Fourth Station, where he was placed in a wagon and sent home. He will probably try to return next Sabbath, for he declares he will not give up until he has his share of the public ear.

A large audience, composed of some of the most influential and orderly of our citizens, is denominated "rabble of loafers and dirty boys." O, exemplary *Bea*! Of course, you knew that they were uttering a lie, and cowardly lie when you said that "a party of North End boys had come up for the purpose of mobbing him." Kind Mr. Ham, to afford him such time as to "preach" for what other purpose did the *Bea* utter these palpable lies, than of misleading the public in the injury of Mr. Cluer?

Now hear the *Traveller*. It says that "a motley crew were assembled, some for the purpose of picking pockets, and more for the purpose of seeing a row." It supposes that the reporter of the *Traveller* was one of the last named; whether he was under the excitement of renewed "physical fuel" or not, I cannot say. It confesses to have been in condition not to hear any thing from Mr. Cluer said, with the exception of the personal insult, and his article bears the marks of a clouded intellect in its construction. He asserts that "some disposition was manifested to rescue the prisoner, but the officers succeeded in taking him beyond the limits of the Common,"—all of which, if he knows any thing about the matter, he knows to be utterly and unqualifiedly false. In fact, it would be difficult to find any thing of truth in the whole report. He concludes, with a whine which is perfectly characteristic of this sort of thing, will continue until a law is enacted which shall declare that such a law is an emet which shall declare that such a law is an emet which shall declare that such a law is an emet.

Do U. S. OFFICERS CONVINCE AT THE SLAVE TRADE? The New York Times says: "The bark J. G. Lewis, which was captured by the U. S. cutter, the *Albatross*, on the 24th inst., was found to be laden with slaves. A proposition was then made to him, that if he would draw up a paper, denying any affinity with either the Republic or American parties, and take it before a magistrate and swear to it, he should be reinstated. This came from the Secretary of the Interior, through the hands of the Secretary of the Navy. The fact, that it was effected in obedience to the behests of slavery, at the very time the Boston Sunkeys were glorifying Senator Mason in Boston, on the occasion of erecting a statue to the grandfather of the victim!—Springfield Republican.

We copy, with much pleasure, the following favorable notice of the lectures recently delivered in Ellsworth, (Me.) by Mrs. C. H. DALL, of this city, who, with a thorough mastery of the subjects upon which she discourses, a superior education, rare literary talent and taste, an earnest purpose of life, and an excellent popular address, only win for her the lecturing field as a profession to win for herself a solid reputation, and to secure as many invitations to lecture as her strength will enable her to accept. In making up her list of lecturers for the ensuing winter, lyceum committees will do well to remember her.

MRS. DALL'S LECTURES.

Our time and space did not allow us to notice fully the two very excellent lectures, delivered here by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, of Boston. The first, on the "Physiological Effects of Light, Color, Air and Mental Condition," was one of the finest lectures to which we have listened for a long time. Her timely and truthful remarks upon the influence of light and sunshine upon the physical natures were well worthy the attention of all, who willfully shut out from their houses the light of heaven. The consideration of other branches of the subject were skillfully and scientifically treated, and the lecture throughout was a sound reasoning, and evinced vigor of thought, knowledge of the subject, and originality of conception, at which we think those who prize above "inferior female intellect" might well be confounded.

The second lecture, an extraordinary address on "Human Rights," as she termed it, was an able and argumentative effort in behalf of the so-called "Woman's Rights" movement.

Though we are not prepared to endorse fully the theories of the lecturer, many points commended themselves to the good sense of her hearers, and no one could admit the talent and logic displayed, as the social, educational and political rights of Woman were presented. Mrs. Dall cannot but leave a favorable impression upon the minds of her hearers, as an earnest, cultivated and dignified woman, who is earnestly laboring for the good of her sex. The audience, though not large, were highly respectable, and kept them in delighted attention to the end. We rejoice that the lecture of woman has been heard, "down east," in behalf of her cause. All admit that wrong exists, and no one ought to find fault with those who differ only in the remedy. Error will flee all the more speedily, and truth shine all the more brightly, for a healthy agitation of the questions of the day, and our moral and intellectual natures be purified and expanded thereby. We think we have had proof positive, if the person of Mrs. Dall, that female lecturing is not incompatible with true feminine refinement and dignity.—Ellsworth (Me.) American.

THE SLAVE TRADE SCHEME OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

We are told that the French government, hitherto an active ally in the suppression of the slave trade, has adopted a scheme for exporting 10,000 negroes from the coast to their colonies in the West Indies; and that a party in this country urging our government to follow the example of France, and supply our West India colonies with labor in the like manner. Well, if the policy of England and France is to be reversed on this momentous question, let it, at all events, be done honestly, and not under the guise of a secret scheme. We are told that the negroes are to be shipped and transported as emigrants. I deny that it is possible fairly and honestly to ship a thousand men from the coast of Africa, as free emigrants, under any temptation whatever. Even the Kroomen, the only class on the whole coast, and that a very small one, residing on a particular part of it, and none of them at Whydah, where the French propose to take their supply, would refuse to go to the West Indies, except on condition of being brought back in a few months. In short, I assert positively, and I challenge any person acquainted with the condition of the people to contradict me, that a single ship, or a single cargo, of negroes, going to the West Indies of its own free will, if even, were so inclined, and I doubt whether there is one man so inclined on the whole coast. It will be said that officers may be appointed to see that they are not shipped against their will. This provision is not possible, as persons ignorant of the condition of the negro, but let us suppose that the poor, ignorant creature were to refuse to embark, what would happen? He would be whipped, or he would be under his master's lash, and either tortured as an example, or starved or killed till he consented to embark. What a mockery is it, then, to talk of free emigration from the coast of Africa! The fact is, the proposed system is a new form of slavery. To talk of a contract with men in their condition is absurd; they do not know what they are bargaining for, even if the truth were told them. How the negroes are to be obtained by France is clear enough from the locality selected for the operation. Whydah, on the coast of the West Indies of its own free will, if even, were so inclined, and I doubt whether there is one man so inclined on the whole coast. It will be said that officers may be appointed to see that they are not shipped against their will. This provision is not possible, as persons ignorant of the condition of the negro, but let us suppose that the poor, ignorant creature were to refuse to embark, what would happen? 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